



## SOCIALIST COMMENT

### NOTES ON MEN AND THINGS OF THE WEEK

German Socialists Becoming Wary—A Suggestion to the St. Louis Civic League—Taft's One True Remark—N. Y. Volkzeitung's Crooked Move Ditched.

Sweden, convulsed by a titanic and historic struggle, Barcelona, with its streets still ruddy with the blood split in another equally titanic and historic struggle, what is the news that now comes from the governing quarters of that country and that city? What is engaging the attention of the elite of the two? In Sweden the Riksdag is to consider a bill "abolishing all grades of precedence," while in Barcelona the Esperanto Congress is dribbling Esperanto dribble.

Is it an accident that the reception tendered to the just organized Canadian Manufacturers' Association in Hamilton upon its first meeting on the 14th of this month, was tended at the armories by the officers of two regiments? Nothing happens by accident. The military power is necessary prop to the capitalist class. Without the physical force to enforce the exploitation of the workers which he carries on in the shop, the capitalist could not stand twenty-four hours.

Cause for joy are the multiplying evidences of our comrades in Germany beginning to weigh facts for themselves, and beginning not to accept unquestioned the information that comes to them from Socialist party sources. In its issue of last August 7, the Berlin "Vorwärts" had an article that obviously comes from some S. P. hand in which the Moyer-Mahoney Western Federation of Miners is flamboyantly made out to be about to "enter the Socialist column." A few years ago the article would have been headed with headlines to match. The article is now appropriately headed with an interrogation: "A Change Coming Over the American Labor Movement?" Still more recently, in a letter from Kautsky, published in "The Call" of the 13th of this month, in answer to an application for funds, Kautsky wisely says he "does not know how matters stand respectively with 'The Call,'" meaning whether the Unions are with "The Call." Wise are both doubts.

Of all droll sights is there any to match the sight of the sordid free trade organ, the New York "Evening Post," posing as a moralist in the present controversy on who found the Post, and denouncing the "newspaper scops, Chautauqua profits, and book royalties" as manifestations of "sordidness"? There is nothing more sordid than the Protectionist "to American labor," who pockets all the protection—unless it be Free trader "for the benefit of American labor," who would alone profit by the freedom through reduced wages, hence larger profits.

"If that fellow in Washington had my job and I had his job, I wonder if I would make as big a mess of his as he would of mine." Harriman is recorded to have said after one of Roosevelt's bumptious moments. The telling quip is instinct with the contempt which the capitalist has for the representatives he puts into office for the purpose of keeping down the subject class.

Inquiry is about to be made by Postmaster General Hitchcock into the cost of carrying the mail. Look out, Letter Carriers! Such inquiries are apt to result in findings to the effect that it costs to carry the mails more than should be, and that retrenchment should be made in the wages of the employees—of course not in the huge sums bestowed upon the railroad companies. There have been of late so many honeyed speeches bestowed upon the letter carriers by the capitalist politicians that it looks bad for the men. These politicians are like vampires. Whenever they blow sweat, look out!

Free, gratis and for nothing the St. Louis Civic League—which is arranging for the entertainment of at least one thousand American Mayors in celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of

the incorporation of the city, and for their discussing "the best ideas on how to run cities"—is hereby recommended to consider as "the best idea" the abolition of all the existing Mayors. The election of any official on a platform, that ignores the necessity of abating the nuisance of capitalism, is presumptive evidence of the gentleman's unfitness.

President Taft made one great hit in the initial speech of his 13,000 mile tour around the United States, delivered in Boston. Referring to the Minnesota Governor Johnson's call to unify the West against the East, the President said: "The attempt to make a cleavage between New England and the East, on one side, and the West on the other, will be found to be so utterly hopeless as to confound those who propose it." This was a bull's-eye. Every section of the country needs all others, and all need each—a pivotal point with the oncoming Industrial Republic, and Industrial Unionism, the necessary precursor of the Industrial or Socialist Republic.

The Seattle "Socialist" of the 11th of this month announces the definite split in the S. P. of Washington, and the definite formation of two Socialist parties. One of these, which the "Socialist" is the organ of, is recognized by the Courts whether the two contending factions carried their sores, but is repudiated by the S. P. National Committee; the other, recognized by the S. P. National Committee, will, according to the "Socialist" have to take another name, and is called a middle class party. One cannot avoid looking at the squabble as a case of the pot calling the kettle black. The real trouble in Washington is a disease that is gnawing at the vitals of the whole S. P. The disease is called in the political materia medica "Hurrah!"

The Swedish Socialist Labor Party organ, "Arbetaren" has good cause to bring a libel suit against the Volkzeitung Corporation. In its issue of the 16th the "Volkzeitung" refers to "Arbetaren" as "our brother-paper." That in the same article in which it tries to cheat its readers with the false information that the "Arbetaren" is a Socialist party paper, the "Volkzeitung" lifts from the Daily People of the previous day a despatch from Stockholm without, of course, giving The People credit—that is too common a practice with S. P. "journalism" to cause surprise.

A heavy coating of brass must cover the cheeks of the officials in the State Department, from the Secretary of State down, who are getting ready to protest to certain European governments against their "connivance at the importation of immoral women into the United States." Connivance with whom? With the Man in the Moon?

That it happens to crooked moves what happens to lies, the worthies of the "New York Volkzeitung" are finding out. The lie, as is known, may start with long legs, but eventually wears them out, and, much as it may have outstripped Truth at first, is finally ditched. So with crooked moves. In its issue of the 2nd of this month, the "Volkzeitung" admits that "it went so far in its defense of the A. F. of L. that it accepted the risk of a split in the Socialist Movement of America in order to prevent a split in the Trades Union Movement of the land, and to keep up the Federation of Labor as the united body of American Unionism." There lies the wide traveled Crooked Move ditched. The body in whose behalf the Volkzeitung split the Socialist Movement of the land in twain is the body that the Berlin "Vorwärts" correctly refers to in its issue of last August 8, as "dead wood" (duerres Holtz).

Says Charles M. Schwab, steel king: "Any young man can succeed in any line of endeavor if he will do that which is given him to do a little bit better than the average." No doubt it was "doing that which was given him to do a little bit better than the average" which led Schwab's friend and associate Wm. Ellis Corey to get a divorce from his wife to marry a stage light, and which caused his divorced wife to declare that a rich man's house was no place for a young boy.

The Hamilton, Canada, "Herald" of September the 9th weeps tears of sadness at the derision with which Gompers' "message of friendship and good will" was received at the Inter-

## OHIO BEHIND NEVADA

Judge George F. Robinson's order, granted in Ohio on the 7th of this month to the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company restraining the Warner and Acorn Lodges of the Amalgamated Association of Iron, Steel and Tin Workers of Youngstown from exercising the right of picketing, is being halted by Republican and Democratic papers as a move that will break the back of the strike, and as the most effective move yet devised against the Unions.

Fudge!

As to "breaking the back of the Strike" and of Unionism—the weapon has not yet been forged, or is at all forgeable, that will accomplish the feat. The path along which Capitalism is whipped by the Law of Prog-

ress, and of its own existence, leads straight to Unionism, ever more perfect Unionism; and does so to the orchestration of the Strike until that final "Strike" which will lock-out the capitalist class, and inaugurate the Industrial or Socialist Republic.

As to the Ohio move being "the most effective yet devised" against the Unions and strikes, Ohio is away behind Nevada, Nevada leading by many a length.

The "Nevada move" is to point a gun at the picket-man. If the picket-man is a craven he will make tracks for home—and that ends the picketing. If the picket-man is not a craven, and is, besides, aware of his civic rights, he, being assailed with a deadly weapon, will on the spot shoot

dead the limb of banditism that assails him; whereupon he is arrested, and indicted, and convicted, and hanged, or locked up in the penitentiary, all done strictly according to rules and regulations of the buccaneers' log-book called "Law" under Capitalism,—and that, likewise, ends the picketing.

Unquestionably, in point of swiftness the "Ohio move" cannot hold a candle beside the "Nevada move"; nor yet in point of deafness and neatness; nor yet in point of effectiveness—for a time—but only for a time.

Even the "Nevada move"—how much more so the "Ohio move"—is but a manoeuvre of Capitalism that superior counter-maneuvres will out-flank and out-general, finally routing the manoeuvres' horse, foot and dragoons.

Pennsylvania. There, conditions were proven to be so bad, that no workers anywhere in the world, not even in darkest Russia, were compelled to work under like conditions.

Illustrations could plentifully be given, fellow workers, but the Socialist Labor Party asks you: What are you going to do about it? Are you going to remain idle while these conditions exist, or are you going to act in keeping with that revolutionary element of your class which down through the ages has been the lever of progress?

The Socialist Labor Party has no reform to offer you. We maintain that the present social order has outlived its usefulness, and like the old worn out shoe, must not, as reformers attempt to do, be patched up, but it must be discarded. This implies organization, and this in turn implies education.

The Socialist Labor Party, the vanguard of the American Labor Movement, calls upon the workers of this State to join us in this campaign and present our immediate and only demand, the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class.

We call upon the workers to organize with that aim and object in view and to organize on the political as well as on the industrial field: On the political field to hasten the inevitable destruction of Capitalism, and on the industrial field to rear and construct the foundation of the Socialist Industrial Republic.

Vote the ticket of the Socialist Labor Party.

The full ticket named by the conference is as follows:

For Governor—Moritz E. Rutherford, Holyoke.

For Lieutenant-Governor—Lawrence Yates, New Bedford.

For Secretary of State—Henry C. Hess, Boston.

For Treasurer—David Craig, Milford.

For Auditor—Jeremiah P. McNally, Salem.

For Attorney-General—John A. Frederickson, Quincy.

The State Conference was held at 694 Washington street, Boston, Sunday September 5. Thomas F. Brennan was elected temporary chairman and John Sweeney temporary secretary. J. P. McNally was elected sergeant at arms. The temporary officers were afterward made permanent.

Several letters, on the available names for the State ticket, and telegram from New Bedford, sending greetings to the conference were read. State Secretary Sweeney rendered his report for the State Executive Committee.

Committees were elected as follows: Platform and Resolutions, F. Houtenbrink, Brennan and Reimer; Party Press, Hogan, Righy, and Maher; Ways and Means, Mulligan, Hess and A. Houtenbrink; Auditors, Craig, Oatley and Schlueter.

National Executive Committee man Reimer rendered his report of the two sessions of the N. E. C., held this year in New York City. Reimer also reported on the agitational tour of four weeks conducted through the State. Successful meetings were held and much literature sold on the road.

The Committee on Platform submitted the address to the workingmen given above. It was adopted along with the national platform to be issued as a State leaflet for the campaign.

On Party Press the following resolution was passed:

Whereas, With the growth of Capitalism, the servility of the press, which the owners of large industries through their advertising dominate, becomes more and more marked; and

Whereas, The press of the S. L. P.

stands alone of all the representatives of political parties, untrammeled of capitalist influence; and

Whereas, The American working class must receive the message, and can only as a mass be reached by the press; therefore be it

Resolved, That we call upon all who have the welfare of Socialism at heart to redouble their efforts toward making the S. L. P. press known to the working class and by the distribution of leaflets, pamphlets and books.

The Committee on Party Press urged that Sections supply themselves with Party press prepaid subscription cards and literature, and push the propaganda.

The Committee on Ways and Means, recommended the adoption of state subscription lists, same to be sent out to Sections and members at large to raise moneys for the campaign. Funds are to be divided between the Sections and the State Executive Committee.

The formation of educational classes to develop speakers for the Socialist Labor Party was recommended.

The Auditing Committee reported having found the books correct and verified the quarterly report.

The resolution adopted at the N. E. C. Sub-Committee, S. L. P., at its meeting on September 1, calling upon members and sympathizers of the S. L. P. in America to render financial assistance in support of the General Strike in Sweden, was endorsed.

Twenty thousand copies of the State ticket and address to the workingmen of Massachusetts were ordered printed.

The conference after discussion under good and welfare, adjourned.

John Sweeney.

### SPECIAL TO CHICAGO READERS

We understand that there has been a re-numbering of the streets in Chicago which is at present complicating mail delivery. Chicago readers whose addresses have been changed in anyway should notify us at once, giving both the old and the new numbers.

### WEEKLY PEOPLE

### GERMAN SOCIALIST CONGRESS

Party Reports Big Increase in Member ship.

Leipzig, September 15.—At the first day's session of the congress of the Social Democracy Delegates Gerisch and Molkenbuhr read their report on the Party's activity during the year just elapsed. They showed an increase in the Party's membership of 45,073, the rolls now holding 633,300 names, 62,259 of which are women. Eleven new district organizations were added during the year, there now being only 20 election districts where no Party organization exists. In fifteen by-elections during the year for seats in the Reichstag, the vote increased in these districts from 74,636, the 1907 figure, to 76,832. In spite of these gains in votes, the number of Socialist representatives in state and city bodies has been decreased by means of juggling with the election laws.

In regard to the activity of the Reichstag deputies, Ledebur supplemented his report with those of Gerisch and Molkenbuhr concerning the activity of the party's executive; he laid special stress upon the incapability of the bourgeois parties and their lack of good will to extend parliamentary rights at the cost of the personal regime.

The convention demanded a more equitable districting of the electorate, in order to do away with the unfair advantages of the country districts over the large voting population of the cities. A strong demand is to be made in the Party's campaign in the future for the re-establishment of three-year terms for the Reichstag, as was the system until 1887, when the Reichstag, in collusion with the Bundesrat, changed the term of Reichstag members to five years.

The legal status created by the passage of the imperial law on Combinations (a law regulating organization rights and obligations) has made it advisable for the Social Democratic Party to change its form of organization, in order to be in keeping with the law and derive therefrom the fullest possible advantage.

### DEATHS BY STARVATION

Albany, September 19.—Starvation, suicide and violence were responsible for 913 of the 11,199 deaths in New York State during July, according to the monthly bulletin of the State Department of Health, just issued.

The suicides number 145. The larger number of those who killed themselves used firearms. The next largest number used poison.

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.

Agents are personally charged with and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

## AGAINST SOCIALISM

### TAFT PRAISES CRAFT UNIONS FOR HOSTILE STAND.

Another Nail Driven in Coffin of Gompers' Separation of Labor by Praise of Capitalism's Chief Representative—Fears Socialist Spirit of European Unions.

Chicago, September 17.—Another nail in the coffin of the American Separation of Labor was driven here last night by Wm. H. Taft, at present chief representative of Capitalism in this country, when he praised the craft unions for upholding the "leaders" who had "set their faces like flint against the propaganda of Socialism," with which labor unionism in France and England was more and more imbued.

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"I know there is an element among employers of labor and investors of capital which is utterly opposed to the organization of labor. I cannot sympathize with this element in the slightest degree. I think it is a wise course for laborers to unite to defend their interests. It is a wise course for them to provide fund by which, should occasion arise and strike or lockout follow, those who lose their places may be supported pending an adjustment of the difficulties.

"Nothing I have said or shall say should be construed into an attitude of criticism against or unfriendliness to those workingmen who for any reason do not join unions. Their right to labor for such wages as they choose to accept is sacred.

"There is one thing to be said in respect to American trades unionism that its critics are not generally alive to. In France the trades unionisms are intensely Socialistic. Indeed, in some of the late difficulties it was plain that there was a strong anarchist feeling among them and that they opposed all authority of any kind. It is also plain that the tendency toward Socialism in England and England's trade unionism is growing stronger and stronger.

"I need not point out the deplorable results in this country if trades unionism became a synonym for Socialism. Those who are now in active control, the Federation of Labor and all the great railroad organizations, have set their faces like flint against the propaganda of Socialist principles."

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### WEEKLY PEOPLE

Puts up Full City Ticket and Starts Campaign—Successful Agitation.

Bridgeport, Conn., September 14.—The Socialist Labor Party is in the field here with a full city ticket. John Riggs has been chosen as its candidate for Mayor. The other nominees are George Forth

## ANSWERS AN EDITOR

## SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY WOMAN POINTS OUT INCONSISTENCIES AND EVILS OF CAPITALISM.

The below is part of an article which was written by Fannie Chernin, an S. L. P. member of El Paso, Texas, answering a long argument against Socialism in the "El Paso Herald." Miss Chernin's article appeared in the El Paso Herald of July 26.

Throughout the pages of history we find the social systems which preceded the present one consisted of two classes, the oppressors and the oppressed. That, in spite of our modern civilization and tendency toward altruism, there exist to-day, and in this country as elsewhere, oppressors and oppressed, would be folly to deny.

History relates the uprising of the oppressed against their oppressors. To-day similar occurrences take place. Classes have run to their last sands.

There is no class lower in the social scale than the proletariat of all countries (United States second to none), and when their emancipation will be effected which is inevitable in the face of modern economic determinism, there will exist no motive for base incentives, detrimental to their fellowmen.

The mission of history is to point out the cause of an effect and the results attained. This is the only interpretation of history that is worth while and which should be embraced by conscientious students.

That the position of the working class is growing steadily worse, is another truth defying proof (if any) to the contrary.

Capitalism has attested its economic and sociologic bankruptcy by hurling the country into a financial and industrial panic unparalleled in the annals of capitalist "progress."

Who will deny that more discontent and social unrest exist to-day on a larger scale than several years ago?

Who will deny that if wages are high, the necessities of life have risen in proportion and over?

Who will deny that, in spite of shorter hours, machinery has been introduced intensifying labor, thus countering in the majority of instances the virtue of shorter hours? And further, these gigantic labor saving machines displace many workers, and the result is an army of unemployed.

Apologists of the capitalistic mode of production should please take note that the law of nature will not tolerate the hanging on of a system that has outgrown its usefulness. Your apologies, which have for their purpose the moulding of public opinion, may retard and endanger the ultimate triumph of practical Socialism, but you cannot expunge the principle.

Capitalists and their spokesmen would have us believe that the conditions of the workers are getting better and better. Much of this is based on nefarious statements.

Conditions in this country, as well as in all other industrially developed countries, stand accused of the pitiable sight of workers marching in thousands on the streets and demonstrating their desire to work if given an opportunity. While they waste their energy in seeking for work in vain, those who are holding positions are justly in fear lest this reserved unemployed army be willing to take their jobs for less pay.

To see the workers in such a plight is especially gratifying to the employing class, as it renders them powerful to dictate terms to the workers. This is slavery and practically exists to-day. The worker has nothing to sell but his labor power, and when necessity forces him to sell it and submit to unjust terms, he is a slave, and therefore rightly has been coined the word, "the labor market."

You hear of the cotton market—wheat market—and also of the human labor market. The difference that exists to-day between the chattel slave of Lincoln's day and the wage slave now is the master, ran after the chattel slave, whereas the wage slave runs in search of a master and voluntarily sells himself. The wage system covers a multitude of sins. Under that cover was hatched modern slavery.

Further we hear of these workers forced into idleness starving in sight of plenty. Years ago, when famine afflicted various countries, such calamities were natural results of failure in crops; but to-day, what does it mean?

You have probably passed through a period of what is called "hard times" or a crisis. The generally tough time of the worker is usually much worse at such periods. Do you know what causes them? They are caused by the fact that the workers produce more wealth (taking on the form of commodities) for the capitalist than he can dispose of. Then the capitalist says: "I will close up my factory until this pile of commodities goes down. The worker can starve in the meanwhile, if he can't find another

## ULTIMA VERBA.

1. I am Capital, the King of the Earth.

2. I strut about with Falsehood, Envy, Covetousness, Deception and Murder as My body-guard. I carry war into cities and families. Wherever I pass I sow Rage, Despair, and Hopelessness.

3. I am the pitiless God. I feel well in the midst of strife and suffering. I butcher the wage-workers and do not spare even My chosen ones, the Capitalists.

4. The wage-worker is unable to tear himself from Me. When, like the hunted deer, he flees before Me beyond the mountains, he finds Me there ahead of him; when he, trying to escape Me, crosses the ocean, he finds Me waiting for him on the shores where he lands. The wage-worker is My prisoner; the earth is his prison.

5. I smite the Capitalists with a dull and stupid sense of well-being. My chosen ones are physical and mental eunuchs. Their descendants run out into idiocy and impotence.

6. I pour over the Capitalist everything that is desirable, but I deprive him of every wish. I load his board with the most toothsome viands, but I deprive him of appetite. I throw upon his bed the handsomest and youngest of women, but their caresses are unable to fire his exhausted body. Everything in the world cloys him—tired and feeble, he yawns away his life. He longs for nothing, yet is he afraid of death.

7. According as it may please Me, and in ways that man is unable to fathom, I fall upon My chosen ones, and hurl them down into the hell of wage-slavery.

8. Capitalists are My tools. I use them as a cat-of-a-thousand-tails to scourge the herd of the wage-workers with. I raise My chosen ones to the highest places in society, and yet I despise them.

9. I am the God, who moves the world and upsets the brains of men.

10. The poet of antiquity has prophesied the era of Capitalism. He sang: "As yet ill is mixed with good; yet the day will come when there will be neither family bonds, nor justice, nor virtue. Hades and Nemesis will reascend to heaven, and then there will be no cure for the ill."

That day has come; like unto the ravenous sharks of the seas and the wild beasts of prey in the woods, men now devour one another without pity.

11. I laugh at the wisdom of man. "Work, and you will have plenty; work, and your locker will be filled," so saith ancient wisdom. But I say unto you: Work, and want and misery will be your faithful companions; work, and you will carry to the pawnbroker your last bit of furniture."

12. I am the God, who revolutionizes the nations of the world. I bend the mighty under my leveling yoke.

13. The day Socialism should come into power, that day would the supremacy of the God Capital be at end. That gloomy day, I, Capital, would cease to rule the world, I would become the slave of the workingman whom I hate. He would no longer kneel before Me, his own handiwork, he would rear himself erect on his feet, and on earth, recognize only Nature as his sovereign mistress.

14. Woe will be Me and My chosen ones should that day ever dawn.

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## WEEKLY PEOPLE.

## For the Student

Communist Manifesto	..... \$10
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NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.  
28 City Hall Place, New York.

(Continued on page 6.)

## A WORD

## ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL EXECUTIVE BOARD, I. W. W., TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD AND THE WORKING CLASS IN GENERAL.

To the membership of the Industrial Workers of the World, greeting:—

The General Executive Board has, in conformity with the instructions of the Paterson Conference, elected H. Richter General Secretary-Treasurer to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Chas. H. Chase who found himself unable properly to attend to the requirements of the office.

All letters and business concerning the general organization, all money for dues, supplies, etc., should be addressed to: H. Richter, Hamtramck, Mich.

General Executive Board Member A. J. Francis having removed to Europe, he has tendered his resignation; also Wm. Glanz, whose age and ill health prevent him from active participation. Your General Executive Board in accordance with the provisions governing the matter, has initiated action to fill said vacancies.

For the G. E. B., I. W. W.,  
H. Richter, Sec.

## Address.

"The emancipation of the working class, must be the class conscious work of the working class."

The labor movement of America at the present makes manifest by its division, its principles and form of organization, that the dictum of the science of human progress, given to the world by Karl Marx in the above sentence, has been ignored. The penalty of this omission is the workers' weakness, inefficiency, and consequent misery and helplessness. The road that leads out of this rut, out of the tradition of the past, and brings the working class upon the highway of efficiency, and strength, is the self-imposed discipline of class consciousness, that grows from a knowledge of economic and social conditions in which the wage worker must organize and fight for better conditions.

The link that connects the two organizations, is the worker himself.

His class interest unites the separate activities for a common purpose, to fit and equip the worker to act as a unit,

and so develop the power necessary to fulfill his historic mission, to conquer capitalist society, and inaugurate the co-operative commonwealth, demanded by human progress and the wage workers' class interest.

The workers who assembled in Chicago, June 27, 1905, gathered there obedient to the forces indicated before, to organize the economic organization of the wage-working class.

Aided by previous efforts in the same direction, and the experience gained, the work of that convention brought into existence the Industrial Workers of the World.

The preamble of the organization, its declaration of principles, made evident that the participants were guided by the knowledge of our age, and succeeded in expressing the basic position and the form of industrial unionism.

It established for all future times, the identity and characteristics of the Industrial Workers of the World:

1. The working class and the employing class have no common economic interest.

2. The class struggle will go on, until the workers organize, on the POLITICAL as well as on the industrial field as a class.

3. To take and hold through an economic organization the product of their labor.

4. That labor organizations animated by different principles, cannot help the workers; they are an aid to the capitalists, by paralyzing the power of the working class.

5. The form of industrial organization must be such, that its members at any time must give their support where needed, recognizing, that as a matter of fact, not of sentiment, an injury to one is an injury to all—union of all the workers subdivided by industries or branches thereof.

The enlightened, class-conscious, working class must be the aim of all who are working for a better condition in life, recognizing that only all informed, self-disciplined labor organization can generate the conquering might needed to abolish wage slavery.

Recognition is needed of the vital fact that the struggle of labor, though acquiring the form of a fight for bread and butter, or leisure, is nevertheless mainly, a war for conditions that assure these demands.

Not as an aggregation of mendicants seeking alms, nor as a horde of slaves asking for mercy and a handout, but as a robed, despoiled, productive, useful class, fighting the imposter and robber in every form to wrest from them their rightful heritage, the means of life, must be the workers' purpose of organization.

This status imposes upon every member the obligation to acquire information by which to guide his words and actions; being a self-directing class movement, the schemes of great leaders and diplomacy are of little use. Only broad, open, education and organization can furnish the means to acquire the unity of thought and action which progress and the victory of the wage working class requires.

This change released a vast amount of labor power that had been used in home production, for home consumption, and made it available for capitalist exploitation. Woman now became a factory operative. But as machinery made easier the work that skill and strength had previously reserved to man, women who could not obtain employment at what had been female occupations, began to compete with man, and to do so had to undersell him to get the job. Thus woman became self supporting, as it is called.

Many men unthinkingly hate the women who compete with them. The revolution that was worked in women's lives was none of their making. Originally the workman had to earn wages high enough to enable him to support himself and family; but now that women and children can support themselves by com-

ers must fight their way to freedom.

In capitalist society the worker's existence has a dual aspect; he is a human being and a wage slave; a citizen and a commodity. This governs the principles as well as form of organization the worker needs.

As a human being and citizen, he must submit to the prevailing methods, through which present society governs its general affairs, political action, the ballot. Hence political education and organization by the workers is necessary. All are invited to promote the workers' class interest.

As a wage slave and a commodity, economic, industrial conditions determine his existence, and dictate the medium for the dissemination of views and principles. In those days not everybody could read, and newspapers were few and dear, therefore the appeal had to be made to the mind through the ear. While meetings are still largely a feature of political campaigns they are no longer THE feature. The feature is now the printed page, the newspaper. The appeal is to the mind through the eye.

With the old parties there is a political season, that the press, campaign, signifying in the field, very well describes. During the campaign, a month or six weeks before election, they whoop it up, without rhyme or reason, appealing mainly to "patriotism," prejudice, and passion to carry the day.

The Socialist Labor Party is not a "campaign club." It is a propaganda organization. The election campaign is but an incident in the work of propaganda.

Of course the political atmosphere is more alive when there is so much beating of the air, but, along with its opportunities, it has the disadvantage of leading to confusion, as is no doubt intended.

The problem for the S. L. P. man is: How can he make his propaganda the most effective during campaign time?

In New York and other industrial centres the Party's efforts are redoubled at such times; more open air meetings are held than at other times. Are these meetings resultful? That is the question.

More pamphlets are sold, not merely because it is campaign time, but for the reason that more effort than usual is made to sell them. Subscriptions do not come from open air meetings, although single copies of the Party papers may be readily disposed of at such times. This feature, selling Party papers at meetings, is one, however, that is not carried out as systematically nor as generally as it could and should be.

As said before, while meetings add zest to a campaign, it is doubtful if they have a very great effect upon the minds of the voters. The voter to-day is guided more by what he reads, than by what he hears, and, as a matter of fact, a hundred read to the one who attends any political meetings at all.

This would seem to indicate that our best work should be done in trying to reach the eye, rather than the ear of the workingman voter, without thereby neglecting the propaganda by word of mouth.

To prove that we have realized this, the propaganda through printed matter, to be THE method of propaganda, we need but point to the efforts we have made to establish and maintain our press and literature agency.

With our present campaign methods all dependence is placed upon the speakers, and the speakers are few. The vast body of the membership looks on—sometimes does not do even that. Were all the members organized to carry on the propaganda, through the Party press, it would seem that the lasting results would be much greater than at present.

Were the street meetings conducted upon the plan that the main purpose of the meeting was to introduce the Party press and literature, this criticism would not hold. But the Party press and literature are merely incidents of the meetings, as at present conducted. The plan to-day seems to be to have the speaker tell all he knows about Socialism. In other words we keep trying to reach the people through the ear while it is through the eye that they are to be reached to-day.

So established a feature has this meeting business become that Sections who have no speakers bemoan the fact that they cannot "carry on" the campaign" and the continual cry is "send us speakers!"

Now, I should like to suggest to all speakerless Sections that they never mind about the speakers. Let them intelligently and systematically organize what forces they have for a vigorous propaganda by means of the Party press. This is work at which all can do something, and there need be no onlookers.

Let us put it this way: Say that a shifting audience of 100 hear a speaker at an open air meeting and a dozen pamphlets are sold. The main result is the sale of the pamphlets, as they leave something tangible by which the

## CAMPAIGNING

## Some Suggestions As to How It May Be Made Most Profitable for the S. L. P.

purchaser can connect with the Party institutions should he have the desire. But how often is the desire awakened? It is a doubtful question. I should say seldom by one pamphlet.

On the other hand, it is not so difficult a task for a live Section to reach a dozen men, and secure them as readers for the Party press, insuring a weekly visitor to them from headquarters. This cannot fail to produce better results. As a matter of fact the Party's strength is, not where the most open air meetings are held, but where its press has the largest lists of readers. And this, in turn, makes profitable the only kind of meetings that are such: those held indoors, where a connected and concrete discourse can be made.

To sum up: let those who wish to, and can, go on with their open air meetings but where the open air meetings cannot be held try the plan of propaganda as suggested and see if it doesn't pan out.

J. H.

## Propaganda Pamphlets

The following propaganda pamphlets are all five cents a copy. We allow twenty per cent. discount on orders of a dollar or more.

# Woman's Suffrage

## An Address Delivered by DANIEL DE LEON

Under the Auspices of the Socialist Women of Greater New York.

Mary Papelsky, Presiding.

COOPER UNION, MAY 8, 1909.

### THE SUFFRAGE—CONTINUED.

A manifestation of another order, and to which attention cannot be too strongly called, was the appearance of women among the Ruling Class. As you will remember, when the primal communal society was first split into classes, Woman took her place in the lower, the class of the ruled, along with those males, who, like herself, were physically disqualified to wield the Iron Tool. As you will remember, the characteristic of the Ruling Class then was strength to wield the Iron Tool. As you may judge, it was not property that imparted power to rule; it was power to rule, because of exclusive capacity to render needed social service, that imparted property. A Ruling Class makes its first appearance upon the stage of history as a useful service-rendering minority. It is in this capacity that the Ruling Class, down to the bourgeois revolution, assumes and becomes owner of the necessities for production, and, as a consequence, of the wealth produced. Sole capacity personally to wield the needed or leading tool of its times is the foundation of a Ruling Class from its inception and down to the bourgeois revolution. With the advent of the bourgeois revolution the foundation is radically changed. Property ceases to be the attribute of rule; rule becomes the attribute of property. The reason is obvious—the radical change wrought in the tool of production, coupled with the consequences thereof, altered social conditions. As Marx tersely put it: "It is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist; on the contrary, he is a leader of industry because he is a capitalist." The capitalist does no manner of useful work; he renders no manner of social service; he could not, if he would. Soon as that transformation is perfected the Hetty Greens<sup>8</sup> appear abreast of the J. Pierpont Morgans, the Harriet Fishers turn up beside the James W. Van Cleaves in National Manufacturers' Associations. Thus once more the pregnant fact is made manifest—sex is not, as it never was, the line of class cleavage.

A fourth manifestation of the transformation that came over the conditions of the land; one that constitutes a landmark in the evolution of Suffrage; moreover, one that vies in importance to Woman's Suffrage with the manifestation just considered, in which women appear as members, active ones, at that, along with men among militants in the Ruling Class,—that manifestation is the discredit into which the franchise has fallen in the estimation of the Social Masters.

You will remember how the bourgeois revolution, surpassing all others in the revolutionary nature of its aspirations and in the liberality of its program, proclaimed and established universal suffrage. Then in Whittier's language,

The crowning fact  
The kingliest act  
Of Freedom was the freeman's vote!

When the private ownership of the necessities of production had done its work, and the latent bourgeois quality of Tyranny in Idleness matured to full bloom, all that changed. Suffrage, a rung of the ladder by which the bourgeois climbed into capitalist power, lost its fascination—even worse.

The ballot, with regard to themselves, male as well as female capitalists now look at it—at the one-time prized weapon and proud badge of citizenship—as an unclean thing to handle. The sentiment is kin to that other sentiment which despises work. Once a worker, despised by his feudal lord for being a worker, and proud of being one, the capitalist, the modern full-blown bourgeois, now, in turn, despises work upon the same principle as did his feudal lord of old—work, under Class Rule, means unrequited toil, and that is a badge of servitude. Precisely as the feudal lord justified his sovereignty with the mystification of "by the grace of God," the capitalist—through his official mouthpieces, of professors, politicians, press and pulpiti—justifies his pre-eminence with language, which, though not literally so, nevertheless is equivalent to the principle "Idleness is the source of all wealth." Naturally enough, such a standard of ethics can have no liking for the active use of the ballot. The mills, mines, factories, railroads, shops—from top to bottom, all the plants of industry and of useful service are now superintended and run by proletarians, by wage slaves. They run to perfection in the interest of the capitalist master. Why should not the political shop—that buttress to the industrial shop—why should not it also be run likewise? Royalty does not vote, is it dignified for the Monarch Capitalist Class to vote—and hustle, aye, perchance be jostled about on the political field by sweaty toilers? It is well worth the while to watch the legislative devices of the Capitalist Class to be saved the annoyances of political activity, and bring the ballot box to their beds and bathtubs.<sup>4</sup> Woman, in the meantime, had been constructively, perhaps surreptitiously, disfranchised. If to the male members of the Capitalist Class the use of the ballot is repulsive, to the female members of the same class the ballot is, to say the least, no more attractive. They sneer at, where they do not despise it.

But the Social transformation which the country has undergone finds its manifestation, with regard to Suffrage, in something more active than dislike by the Capitalist Class for political activity by himself. It finds its manifestations also in a dread, on the part of the Capitalist Class, for political activity exercised by the proletariat.

The capitalist is not in the dark as to what Suffrage implies. The capitalist is well aware that, if Suffrage began and ended with the ballot, the peacefully blissful continuance of the reign of Capital would be an assured thing. Whatever the system voting—whether old style; or Australian style, so-called; or achein;—the capitalist is safely entrenched politically. A hostile tail that endangers his reign can to-day be deftly counted out, and safely, too.

Furthermore, as an incident in their struggle with one another, one set of capitalists has often found its account in setting up a "Labor Party", a sort of decoy-duck to draw votes away from the other set. Hardly a State, north of Mason and Dixon's line, but has seen, some time or other, the apparition.<sup>5</sup> But with the development of the Trust the "Labor Vote", to-day, is, as Chancellor Kent's partially correct opinion predicted, ever more plainly to tail to the Trust magnates' kite. For another thing, the trick is costly. The psychological counterpart of the physical quality of the drunkard never to be satisfied, is the Capitalist's mental quality, never to feel rich enough. The English economist, T. J.

Dunning, stated with witty profundity that, with a 300 per cent. profit in sight, there is no crime at which capital will scruple, nor a risk it will not run, even to the chance of its owner being hanged. For parity of reason, the Capitalist, female or male, while prone to lavishness for purposes of ostentation, eschews expenses in business. They lower profits. Decoy-duck Labor Parties are mercenary armies, and expensive. For a third reason, the trick is fraught with danger. If decoy Labor Parties are free to spring up, then bona-fide ones cannot be prevented.

That is the rub—and the specter it raises in the capitalist's mind's eye is one that Woman's Suffrage must reckon with.

If Suffrage began and ended with voting, the worst inconvenience that the capitalist could suffer from it in the hands of the proletariat would be that of a gravel in the shoe—a nuisance, but nothing fatal. Suffrage, however, does not begin and end with the ballot. The ballot is only an incident, the least important, at that, in the franchise. The franchise, Suffrage, implies propaganda; propaganda educates; education crystallizes into organization. A revolutionary propaganda against Capitalism is unfeasible except in the open. Too numerous is the Class interested therein; too many even the minimum number needed for the resultant organization that the times demand. These numbers cannot be reached and brought together in midnight gatherings in cellars, or attics, or groves, nor can the propaganda be conducted in whispers, or veiled language. The revolutionary propaganda against Capitalism can be conducted only over-and-above-board, in language that is clear in sound, and clear in sense. There is no field other than that offered by Suffrage for such a propaganda. What is known as "Political Action"—that alone can preach the Revolution in the way it must be preached.

Now, then, we have seen, on the one hand, the ballot-holding proletariat fastened to-day as a tail to the political kite of the Top-Capitalist Class; on the other hand, we have seen the utter futility of the proletarian ballot alone. To escape being impaled on one horn or the other of the dilemma there is but one path—to use the opportunity afforded by Suffrage to preach the Social Revolution; in other words, to carry on the propaganda that will educate, and, so doing, crystallize in that organization which is the only physical force available to the proletariat; the all-sufficient physical force; withal, the very physical force, the mold of which is furnished by capitalist society itself, in that the mold foreshadows the construction of the Socialist Republic—the integrally, industrial organization of the proletariat. The industrial organization of the proletariat; on the one hand, cuts the bonds of economic superstitions that frighten the proletarian ballot into Top-Capitalist support, and thereby gives a chance to a peaceful solution of the Social Question; on the other hand, the industrial organization of the proletariat is the ready physical force to frustrate a capitalist electoral crime.

Though deep thought is not a capitalist virtue, instinct is a virtue of the dullest beast,—preeminently so of Usurpation. No wonder the Capitalist Class now see in Suffrage a source of danger to its existence.

Finally, there is a fifth manifestation of the transformation that came over the land, due to the economic laws that underlie the private ownership of the necessities for production—a transformation that can be overlooked only at the peril of Woman's Suffrage. It follows as the direct consequence of the one just considered—the, at first bold, now devious devices adopted to disfranchise the proletariat, at least hamper it in the exercise of Suffrage.

The chapter of the story I now enter upon has never yet received that fullness of treatment that it is entitled to.<sup>6</sup> I can here give only its roughest outline.

The attempt of Capitalism to rid itself of the danger that Suffrage is fraught with for its rule may be said to have started with the scheme of President Grant's ex-Secretary of the Treasury, Benjamin H. Bristow, conceived barely ten years after the close of the Civil War, to overthrow the Republic and replace it with a Monarchy. Bristow was too headlong. The scheme was smoothed. Less headlong than Bristow's, but still too bold for execution, was the next scheme of which Simon Sterne of this State became a leading expositor a few years later—the scheme to re-establish a property qualification. That scheme also was scuttled. Its weakness also lay in its frankness. Then came the third epoch in the move, when the same purpose was to be pursued in devious and surreptitious ways. That epoch we are now in.

In several states of the South the scheme has been tangled up with the false pretense of "preserving the purity of the white race." The pretense is transparent. Concealed under it is the throbbing Labor Problem. The tanglefoot Suffrage legislation, while aimed at the Negro ostentatiously as at Negro, in fact aims at him as a wage-slave, seeking to keep him focused to the traditional standpoint, and, along with him, the rest of his class. In most other States, the North leading, the scheme is pursued under the colors of the "Australian Ballot."

The term "Australian Ballot" suggests the idea of a move democracyward. The "Australian Ballot" presupposes the impossibility of, at least much curtailed opportunities for ballot-box frauds; it diminishes, aye, removes the item of expense—a serious obstacle to the ease of political expression under the former private ballot system. In short, the "Australian Ballot" presents itself as a promise of a more efficacious, because more liberal, Suffrage. Under color of the promise, suggested by the name—"Australian Ballot"—exactly the opposite goal is pursued, and is being accomplished. Out of the forty-six States of the Union only three—Georgia, North and South Carolina—have retained the old system. In these three States, it would seem, the alleged "Anti-Negro" ballot laws are deemed sufficient for the purpose. In all the remaining forty-three States the Australian Ballot, modified, has been introduced. What the modifications purport may be judged from a few of the most striking ones:

The Virginia sample Australian Ballot that I have is fit to superinduce delirium tremens in choosing one's candidates. The names of the offices are so contrived as to run into one another. A mistake, in marking, by all but the most expertly prepared, is easily incurred. A mistake renders the ballot null.

In the States of Washington and Minnesota a money contribution is demanded from each candidate. In Minnesota a fixed sum; in Washington a percentage, a tall one at that, of the salary attached to each office.

Here in New York, where we have nearly sixty counties, at least fifty signatures are now demanded in each, besides a total of 6,000. Slip on one county and you have slipped on all.

In Ohio and other States the percentages are being raised.

In short, all the modifications hamstring more or less the "Australian Ballot"; they are intended to render free Suffrage expression difficult, and more and more so—all obedient to that sentiment of the capitalist, female and male, that to-day causes the Ruling Class to scent danger in Suffrage, and to strain for its abolition as a proletarian weapon.

Surveying the field of the Woman Suffrage Movement from the elevation of the historic development that I have just rapidly sketched—the splitting of the primal Communal System into classes; the metamorphosis undergone in the foundation of the Ruling Class; the rise of Suffrage; the changes Suffrage has undergone; finally the present posture of the capitalist mind toward the ballot in its own and then in the hand of the proletariat—

we are in condition to pass in review the arguments of the Suffragist Specialists, and the arguments of their Antis.

### ARGUMENTS OF ANTIS.

I have jotted down a few of the representative arguments made by the leading male and female opposers of Woman's Suffrage. Here they are:

"Woman's Suffrage would break up the home";  
"Woman has no experience or knowledge of political matters";  
"The ballot would degrade woman";  
"Woman is mentally unfit for questions of State";  
"The ballot would render woman sordid";  
"The disfranchised status of Woman may work evil here and there; on the whole, what is their loss is society's gain".

These will do. They are types of the mass of Anti-ammunition fired into the camp of the Suffragists.

Not one of these arguments but sounds as a deliberate insult to the human intellect. To dispose of them, however, as such would be to miss the point. With the exception of the Richard Watson Gilders—beings that are atavistic manifestations of the oyster-stage in biology, the stage of mentality that, clinging to the sea-weed-covered rock of the Present-Past, perceives not the changes that are going on in shore formations and in the current of the tides—with the exception of such oyster antediluvianists, whose occasional poetical vein instead of promoting Progress, would retard it by making the apotheosis of the Past, at the shrine of which they worship, veritable pagans—with the exception of such mentalities, to whom I am surprised not yet to have seen the talented Charlotte Perkins Gilman dedicate a geologic poem, matching the one with which, nearly twenty years ago, she disposed of Francis A. Walker, the unenviable author of the dictum: "Socialism is a Vagary"—with the exception of such exceptional personages, all others who raise their voice against Woman's Suffrage utter the sentiments of the Ruling Class. Theirs is not a purpose to insult; theirs is the purpose to preserve their class supremacy, instinctively felt to be imperiled by a Movement, which, so far from restricting, as they are seeking to do, would tend to add fresh recruits to the political army of the proletariat. How truly an exhalation of capitalist class instinct the Antis' arguments appear from their being exact counterparts of the agonized arguments that proceed from the same source against Socialism.

Let us consider them separately:

"Woman's Suffrage would break up the home"—exactly what they say against Socialism—a doubly untrue charge. For the home to be threatened with destruction by Woman Suffrage, or Socialism, the home must be safe and pure to-day under the shield of Capitalism. The home is broken up to-day. Mothers, in increasing numbers, are torn from their homes in search of a living in factories and shops, while their babes are "charitably" left to the "charitable" care of "charitably" instituted "nurseries"; husbands have to leave their homes in search, far and wide, for the illusive job; children, who should be under the softening influence of the home are forced into the hardening influence of child labor. Nor is this all. The percentage of marriages declines; the percentage of divorces increases; while the domestic scandals that are in perpetual outbreak among the topmost branches of the tree of the Top-Capitalist Class allow more peeps into what is up in those "homes"—all this under the shield of Capitalism. The home is pivoted upon material wellbeing. Whatever tends to promote the solidity of the pivot makes for the solidity of the home. Nor can it be doubted that, to place in the hand of the members themselves of the home the power to control its destiny, must make for the welfare of the home. It is but natural that, with the opposite principle in force, the home is to-day on the rocks.

"Woman has no experience or knowledge of political matters"—exactly, what they say of the Working Class—exactly the language of King George and his Parliament toward the American colonists in revolt—exactly the language of the Oeil de Boeuf aient the bourgeois who demanded a voice in the affairs of the France of the Old Regime—exactly the recent language of Abdul Hamid towards his people tired of autocratic rule. In short, exactly the language that Usurpation ever holds, and that regularly is disproved, soon as its yoke is cast off. The resources a people hold within themselves are vast soon as the bars are thrown down and opportunities are open to all. Upon that history is eloquently conclusive.

"The ballot would degrade woman"—though not literally, yet substantially what they say of the effect that Socialism would have upon the race—a purely ruling class conception of what the race is. To a ruling Class, it is the race. What is good for it is good for the race; what harm it is harmful to the race. Once, as we saw, the conception had a color of justice. It had a color of justice with the initial ruling class whose useful efforts society then needed; it had a color of justice even with the bourgeois, whose efforts, though essentially criminal in methods, served the needed purpose of organizing labor co-operatively—so long as he performed that needed social mission, the bourgeois could consider himself the race with a color of justice. But its mission has been performed by each successive ruling class. To-day the last descendant of the long line of social masters, the capitalist, lingers on the stage only as a scab clings to the wound that healed under it. To-day, accordingly, not only is the present ruling class not the race, it has become a husk formation upon the race—benefited only in the measure that it injures the race; harmed by aught that would promote the race. No wonder the Capitalist Class apprehend the effect of Woman's Suffrage upon their race.

"Woman is mentally unfit for questions of State"—exactly the charge they bring against the proletariat, and for exactly the same purpose—to justify the continuance of their own privileged position. In both cases, to the extent that there is truth in the charge it smites the charger. The ethic principle that none shall profit by his own wrong rejects a plea that seeks to justify the continuance of a wrong with the wrong itself.

"The ballot would render woman sordid"—who does not recognize in this charge the familiar ring of the admonition to the Working Class, issued from Falstaffian "capon-lined bellies", to give no heed to Socialism with its "materialistic" and "unspiritual gospel", but turn their thoughts to heaven, and there lay up treasures for themselves where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through and steal?

"The disfranchised status of woman may work evil here and there; on the whole, what is their loss is society's gain"—drop the words in the sentence, which allude to Woman exclusively, and substitute for them "condition of the Working Class", and the whole sentence, literally and in spirit, is identically the self-satisfied phrase with which some official sociologists of the Capitalist Class have sought to reconcile the proletariat to their martyrdom—"the condition of the working class may work evil here and there; on the whole what is their loss is society's gain". Slavery ever debases the slave and pollutes the master. The debasement on the one side, the pollution on the other, may be extenuated as transitory social necessities, whereby ultimate and greater benefits are to be gained to all. We saw such to be the case when the first Ruling Class, the wielder of the Iron Tool, arose; social science recognizes the force of the argument even in the instance of the bourgeois when his mission was still to be fulfilled; with the fulfillment of the mission of the bourgeois the social mission, if the term may be allowed, of the injuries inflicted by Class Rule is completed. So thoroughly completed is it that the whole basis of Class

Rule stands transformed. Not Effort but Idleness is now the badge of the modern Social Ruler. The goal, which to attain, society submitted to the ills of Class Rule, has been reached. The tool and mechanism of production have matured to such perfection, that to-day, without arduous toil, abundance is possible to all. The double-headed Wolf of Want and Fear of Want need no longer throw his shadow across the threshold of man. Leisure is possible to all; with Leisure its long train of blessings. In short, the first task of the human race has been accomplished. The problem of its material wellbeing is solved. We now stand at the gate of the higher problems, the mental and spiritual problems of our existence. Slavery, at such a ripened season, has no longer any place in sense or reason. To seek to justify it in any form is to seek to sacrifice the race to the interests of a superannuated class. It is to act as a drag-upon Progress.

In short, Suffrage is not being denied to Woman as a sex; it is being denied to her as a proletarian. The women who are not proletarians care not for the ballot themselves any more than the male members of their class, and realize full well, with their male fellows, that by foregoing this, to them, indifferent privilege, they bar out the overwhelming members of their sex who are proletarians. I have yet to hear an argument from the Antis that does not proceed from Ruling Class interests—consequently, that does not help to light the movement for Woman's Suffrage the road that it should tread.

### ARGUMENTS OF PROS.

Have the Suffragists—and when I say Suffragists Suffragettes are included—have the Suffragists caught the note of the Antis' opposition? The regrettable fact must be recorded that, as a body, they have not. Far otherwise. Had the Antis deliberately meant to lead the Suffragists to the wrong track, the Suffragists could not, as a body, have suited the Antis more completely.

Let me take up some of the arguments made by prominent Suffragists on leading occasions—especially arguments that are favorite ones, and deemed powerful by them.

"With the disfranchisement of Woman," it is a favorite argument with Suffragists, "Society has been limping on only one foot." This is a historic error involving a serious error in sociology. It is not on a whole foot that society has been limping. Society has been "limping" on only the hundredth part, or even less, of a foot. The episode in the history of Suffrage, comprised in the era of the old Republic of Rome, for one, not to mention other striking episodes in the history of Suffrage, is conclusive of the fact that it is by virtue of Class Rule that society has done the "limping." The members of the estate consisting of the poor classes in Rome were qualified voters. But their vote was, constitutionally, of no importance if the two upper classes—patricians and knights—were agreed, and consequently, their vote was not required in such cases—which was the rule. It was, accordingly, not by reason of its being divided between qualified and unqualified voters that the Roman republic "limped." It "limped" because of being divided into economic classes—a Ruling and a Ruled Class. The latter being the vast majority, there was no whole foot, but only a fraction of a foot to "limp" upon. We have seen that, with the very first appearances of Classes, symmetry ceased in the anatomy of society. From that time on there was "limping", but the lame limb comprised the large majority, and the majority comprised males as well as females.

It suits the Ruling Class to have Woman's Suffrage presented as a sex issue. As such an issue the source and present foundation of Woman's Social inferiority is kept dark, and thereby the inferiority is perpetuated.

How thorough-going a revolution is marked by the appearance of the Hetty Greens on the social stage is illustrated by a recent remark of the lady: "Let others own the land, I take mortgages upon the land." Not only is the original foundation of the Class Struggle so completely changed, from what it was originally, that Woman steps into the Ruling Class, but also the subsequent accompanying foundation—land—that became a characteristic of feudal supremacy has been removed. The capitalist woman sees no attraction in land; what charms her is the capitalist claws with which to transform the land into profits-yielding capital.

Another subject deserving the research of serious Socialists who would enrich the literature of the Social Question with solid information, comprehensively presented.

A third subject worthy of the attention of serious Socialists, and awaiting comprehensive historic treatment.

A fourth subject that bespeaks and awaits special treatment by serious Socialists, who would enlighten the Movement with original work.

&lt;p

## WEEKLY PEOPLE

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In 1892	21,157
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In 1896	74,191
In 1898	34,172
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SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 25, 1908.

The glad days fly so merrily,  
The glad days dance so cheerily,  
O for to sing a lond of gold,  
And every hoyden moment hold!

The sad days droop so drearily,  
So wan-eyed and so weary,  
O for a cat-o'-nine-tails then  
To lash the laggards on again!

—LOVEMAN.

## BANKERS OUT FOR MORE GRAFT.

The bankers, now holding the annual  
session of the American Banking  
Association in Chicago, and con-  
gregated in unprecedented numbers,  
have started a spirited  
campaign to block the popular plan for  
Postal Savings Banks, and, with the brazen  
audacity of their breed, propose a  
counterplan by which Congress shall em-  
power them to establish savings depart-  
ments. If the counterplan goes through,  
and the banks become also Savings  
Banks, the last vestige will have been  
swept away from the false pretence that  
"the Savings Bank is the poor man's  
bank."

The myth that the Working Class is  
the depositor of the billions in the Sav-  
ings Banks has been torn to shreds in  
these columns again, and again, and yet  
again. It has been torn to shreds with  
the statistical figures furnished by the  
Treasury Department and the Cen-  
sus; it has been torn to shreds with the  
charges and countercharges that, in un-  
guarded moments, Presidents of National  
Banks and of Savings Banks them-  
selves have made, when the former  
charged the Savings Banks with being  
favorite deposits for speculators, who,  
while waiting for the opportunity to  
speculate draw their funds from the Na-  
tional Banks, where they do not draw  
interest, and deposit them with Savings  
Banks, where they can get some small  
interest, and when the latter retort that  
their depositors are not speculators but  
middle class people who desire to secure  
for themselves a steady however small  
revenue; moreover, the myth has been  
torn to shreds with other evidence that  
went to show that "ladies in carriages"  
and the like were to a large extent the  
patrons of the "banks of the poor."

For all that, it is quite certain that,  
to some extent, wage slaves of the land  
are depositors of Savings Banks. The  
folly of the act has likewise been ex-  
posed in these columns. Imprudence is  
a vice; providence a virtue. But there is  
no providence in the conduct of people,  
who have not enough to keep them-  
selves "in health," pinching them-  
selves. They imagine they protect them-  
selves against the rainy day of sickness,  
whereas, in fact, by under-feeding and  
under-clothing, they invite the rain upon  
their heads in the shape of doctors',  
druggists' and also undertakers' bills; or  
they imagine they protect themselves  
against the rainy day of being laid-off,  
whereas, in fact, by placing their pain-  
fully scraped-together pennies in a Sav-  
ings Bank, they simply raise a heap  
conveniently accessible for the employer  
to borrow, wherewith to improve the  
machinery in his plant, and thereby  
bring upon them the down-pour of being  
thrown out of work by labor-saving con-  
trivances.

What, on the one hand with the slowly  
gaining perception of the avoidable  
evil to the Working Class involved in  
private Savings Banks, and, on the other  
hand, with the general superstition in  
favor of "saving" at all cost, there has  
arisen a popular demand for Postal Sav-  
ings Banks. Indeed, a number of dan-  
gers are thereby avoided, notably the  
danger of being robbed outright. Uncle  
Sam will not abscond to Canada, or  
Honduras.

And now come the bankers—the fra-  
ternity that only recently and, in fact,  
daily furnishes inmates to our peniten-  
tiaries, or suicides for the Coroner's at-  
tention—and not only do they object  
violently to the Postal Savings Bank

proposition, but shamelessly oppose the  
same with a proposition that they al-  
lowed to extend their degradations into  
the Savings Banks pasture ground!

## THAWING ICEBERGS.

In a recent one of those magazine  
articles which are compiling for the  
working class invaluable data on the  
criminality of their rulers, the state-  
ment was made that: "It is a sig-  
nificant commentary upon the sugar  
trust that since the day of its incor-  
poration it has never built a new plant.  
Its whole work has been destructive."

The sentences are illustrative of a  
great and growing portion of the cor-  
porate activity of the time. The late  
E. H. Harriman himself, director when  
he died of forty-one railroads, was  
nowhere known as a builder, but only  
as a purchaser and a combiner, of  
railways. A few years ago the great  
Eastern Shipbuilding Company's plant  
at New London was closed up by the  
shipping trust—just bought and closed  
up. The increasing prevalence of graft  
and business corruption, the growing  
power and importance of Stock Ex-  
changes show that it is no longer in-  
dustrial activity, but parasitism upon  
that activity, that more and ever more  
capitalists are looking to for their  
money.

All this denotes a dissolution. Of  
another period when a previous ruling  
class had outlived its usefulness, and  
the storm was gathering to sweep it  
away, Carlyle wrote:

"There then walks our French  
Noblesse. All in the old pomp of  
chivalry: and yet, alas, how changed  
from the old position; drifted far down  
from their native latitude, like Arctic  
icebergs got into the Equatorial seas,  
and fast thawing there! Once these  
Chivalry Dukes (Dukes, as they are  
still named) did actually lead the  
world,—were it only towards battle-  
soul, where lay the world's best wages;  
then: moreover, being the ablest Lead-  
ers going, they had their lion's share,  
those Dukes; which none could grudge  
them. But now, when so many Looms,  
improved Ploughshares, Steam-Engines,  
and Bills of Exchange have been  
invented; and, for battle-brawling it-  
self; men hire Drill-Sergeants at eighteen-pence a-day,—what mean these  
goldmantled Chivalry Figures, walking  
there 'in black velvet cloaks,' in high-  
plumed 'hats of a feudal cut?' Reeds  
shaken in the wind!"

Just so lies it with the ruling class  
of to-day, that same bourgeoisie which  
overthrew and swept away the "gold-  
mantled Chivalry Figures" of an out-  
grown feudalism. Like the feudal lords,  
whom they superseded, the lords of  
capital once had a function to perform.  
That function was, led by the desire  
for their own private profit, to  
spread industry, develop machinery,  
and teach the world co-operation. That  
function has now been almost, if not  
wholly, accomplished. The capitalists  
of to-day are, like the French nobles-  
men of 1789, the relics of an outlived,  
outworn necessity. In the developed  
state of modern industry, in the storm  
which is gathering to sweep them to  
the ash-heap of civilization, they are, in  
Carlyle's words, but "thawing icebergs"  
and "reeds shaken in the wind."

## HARRIMANIANA.

From the crop of biographies of the  
late E. H. Harriman a few passages  
are worth reproduction and attention—

"Edward Henry Harriman was born  
in poverty on February 25, 1848. At  
the age of twelve years he was placed  
at a college where the sons of Episco-  
pal clergymen were given free  
tuition. . . . At the age of twenty-  
two he bought a seat on the stock  
exchange."—A seat on the Stock-Ex-  
change is a seat in the Council of  
"Captains of Industry." Captainship  
of Industry is claimed to be a sort  
of by-the-grace-of-God affair. If so,  
why buy it? On the other hand, if the  
place has to be bought, then the So-  
cialist principle is proved once more—  
a man is not a capitalist because he is  
a Captain of Industry; 'tis the other  
way; he is a Captain of Industry by  
virtue of his being a capitalist.

"Edward Henry Harriman was the  
son of Orlando Harriman, an Episcop-  
al minister at Hempstead, L. I. . . .  
Harriman perceived that the future of  
capital in the United States was bound  
up in the railroads, and that an im-  
mense fortune would fall to the man  
who could keep pace with the railroad  
development of the country, and, like  
Jay Gould and Fisk, be on hand at the  
moment of his rival's distress."—The  
perpetual croak, solemnly croaked by  
the moralists of capitalism is that re-  
ligious education is essential to the  
making of a lad, without which educa-  
tion his other attainments will only  
tend to make him a scamp. Harriman's  
career pricks a hole into the  
theory. Either "to be on hand at the  
moment of your rivals' distress" is a

proposition, but shamelessly oppose the  
same with a proposition that they al-  
lowed to extend their degradations into  
the Savings Banks pasture ground!

The New York Labor News Company  
is the literary agency of the Socialist  
Labor Party. It prints nothing but  
sound Socialist literature.

BY THE WAY OF GOMPERS  
IN EUROPE

In view of the serious and refreshingly  
novel criticisms of Gompers and of his  
A. F. of L. that his presence and conduct  
have provoked in Europe, particularly in  
Germany, where the Berlin "Vorwärts"  
referred to the A. F. of L. as "dead-  
wood" (duerres Holtz), and the significance  
of the man's intimate affiliation with the  
Civic Federation was the subject of  
deservedly caustic remarks in the  
"Neue Zeit"; furthermore, in response  
to several questions and requests that  
have come to this office on this subject  
in general, the below passages from the  
report of the Stuttgart International So-  
cialist Congress, held two years ago,  
stating the Socialist Labor Party position  
as expressed by the chairman of the  
Party's delegation, are here reproduced.

Speaking before the Committee on  
Unionism, Delegate De Leon said:

"When some comrades in Europe speak  
of America their words sound as if they  
imagine the world is bounded by the  
confines of their own continent. The power-  
ful development that capitalism has  
reached in America implies a fuller  
Union Movement also. Unfortunately a  
portion of our Unions is organized upon  
a purely craft basis, in separate crafts,  
and each craft, all working in the same  
shop, has a separate contract, a circum-  
stance that greatly hampers the united  
action of the workers in their class  
moves. I therefore have the honor to  
submit a resolution which condemns  
such autonomous Unionism, in opposition  
to which is Industrial Unionism, which  
unites all the workers of a shop without  
distinction of craft, and consequently all  
the workers in all the other shops. The  
narrow, self-seeking form of Unionism  
has been found in America to be a great  
menace to Labor. Take care that it does  
not become an equal menace in Europe,  
when the capitalist system will have  
reached here the developed stage it has  
reached with us. I hold the Union is  
to be the embryo of future society.  
Hence it must pursue a double political  
and economic goal. We therefore labor  
for the formation of Socialist or class-  
conscious Unions, to take the place of  
Craft Unionism. The American Federation  
of Labor has become an auxiliary of  
capitalism. Its leaders, in the words of  
Mark Hanna, are the labor-lieutenants  
of the employers. In opposition to that  
we have set up the Industrial Workers  
of the World. In the name of the So-  
cialist Labor Party of America, jointly with  
the Industrial Workers of the World, I have  
the honor to submit for your consideration  
the following resolution:

"Whereas, The integrally organized  
industrial organization of the Working  
Class is the present embryo of the  
Commonwealth of Labor, or Socialist  
Republic, and foreshadows the organic  
form of that Commonwealth, as well  
as its administrative powers;

"Whereas, 'Craft Unionism,' wherever  
capitalism has reached, untrammeled,  
full bloom, has approved itself what  
the plutocratic 'Wall Street Journal'  
of New York has hailed it, in hailing  
the Gompers-Mitchell American Federation  
of Labor, 'the bulwark of capitalist  
Society,' that bred the officialdom which  
the capitalist Mark Hanna designated as  
his 'Labor-Lieutenants'; therefore be it

Resolved: 1. That "Neutrality" towards  
Trades Unions, on the part of a political  
party of Socialism, is equivalent to "neu-  
trality" toward the machinations of the  
capitalist class;

2. That the bona fide, or revolutionary  
Socialist Movement needs the political  
as well as the economic organization of  
Labor, the former for propaganda and  
warfare upon the civilized plane of the  
ballet; the latter as the only conceivable  
force with which to back up the ballot,  
without which all ballot is moonshine,  
and which force is essential for the ultimate  
lock-out of the capitalist class;

3. That, without the political organiza-  
tion, the Labor or Socialist Move-  
ment could not reach its triumph; with-  
out the economic, the day of its political  
triumph would be the day of its defeat.  
Without the economic organization, the  
movement would attract and breed the  
pure and simple politician, who would  
debauch and sell out the working class;  
without the political organization, the  
movement would attract and breed the  
agent provocateur, who would assassinate  
the movement. (Report of Stuttgart  
Congress pp. 197-199.)

Addressing the Congress in full session  
upon the Committee's reports, the dele-  
gate said:

"I take the tribune in the name of the  
Socialist Labor Party to speak in favor  
of the minority resolution. First of all  
I must correct statement made by the  
previous speaker, the representative of  
the moralists of capitalism is that re-  
ligious education is essential to the  
making of a lad, without which educa-  
tion his other attainments will only  
tend to make him a scamp. Harriman's  
career pricks a hole into the  
theory. Either "to be on hand at the  
moment of your rivals' distress" is a

proposition, but shamelessly oppose the  
same with a proposition that they al-  
lowed to extend their degradations into  
the Savings Banks pasture ground!

France. With the reporter [the previous  
speaker] I am agreed on two points.  
First of all this is a question of tactics  
that has its roots in economic unity.  
Likewise am I at one with him upon the  
necessity of friendly and intimate relations  
between Party and Union. But I  
protest against the disdainful way in  
which Beets treats the minority. He sim-  
ply ignored our resolution. He declined  
to discuss it with you. He has acted to-  
wards us in the manner that the Govern-  
ment of Wurttemberg has just acted to-  
wards citizen Quelch. The Wurttemberg  
Government also refused to listen  
(Laughter.)

"Our principal criticism of the major-  
ity resolution consists in this: it only  
takes cognizance of the Union situation  
of countries that are still backward in  
the development of Unionism; it takes no  
cognizance of the situation in Amer-  
ica, where capitalism is farther developed  
than here on the continent. You also, it  
is true, have 'Christian Unions,' and like-  
wise 'Yellow Unions.' These are all dis-  
tinguished for their support of capital-  
ism. But, in America, the leaders of the  
leading Unions operate in accord with  
the National Civic Federation, that is,  
with the Top Capitalists, and their prin-  
ciple is not the class struggle. In order  
to conceal the antagonisms between Cap-  
ital and Labor, they pretend that the  
basis for action is harmony between the  
classes. These Trades Union leaders lead  
the working class into a blind alley. It  
is impossible to co-operate with such  
alignments. The time is at hand when  
you also will be confronted with this de-  
velopment, and then you will have to act  
accordingly. In our opinion a true polit-  
ical Socialist Movement can not be reared  
except upon a true Socialist economic  
Movement. We aim in the United States  
at the organization of industrial Unions  
that embrace all the workers in the same  
shop so as to put an end to the particu-  
larism of craft autonomy. Hence it is  
that I request you to accept the minority  
resolution, which alone takes all the  
economic eventualities into consideration,  
(Very well!) from several benches.)  
(Pp. 357-359.)

Considering that only five years ago,  
John Mitchell, Gompers' double, was  
feasted in Europe, was referred to as  
"Comrade Mitchell," and was otherwise  
much made of, the S. L. P.'s "isolated  
position" is somewhat widening its area.  
The workers are all mutts I vow;  
My motto is "get something now!"  
A loaf is better than a crumb;  
I am a bum, I am a bum!

A Genoese desiring to become editor of  
a Socialist party paper must sign his  
name to the following verses in the  
presence of three witnesses:

U. S.—Indeed they did.

B. J.—Now from all this I had drawn  
my conclusions.

U. S.—To what effect?

B. J.—To the effect that these cap-  
italists were a lot of scoundrels, who  
looked upon the workers as their legiti-  
mate beasts of burden, that had to be  
whipped blind if they roared or kicked.

U. S.—There are no flies on that  
conclusion.

B. J.—But here comes the puzzle—

U. S. (looking around)—Where?

B. J.—Right here; the identical Dem-  
ocratic politicians who browbeat us  
before are now making speeches in  
which they say: "There is no conflict  
between capital and labor. The in-  
terest of the workers is the interest of  
the employers. And it behoves us who  
are employers to resist with might  
and main the lowering of the wages  
of the working poor."

U. S.—That's very loving.

B. J.—And the identical Republican  
politicians who shot us and helped  
the bosses suck us dry are holding the  
same language.

U. S.—The love of these people for  
the working class seems to bloom like  
the rose in June.

B. J.—And aren't you puzzled?

U. S.—Whereat?

B. J.—At so much love pouring forth  
from quarters that otherwise only pour  
down oppression upon us?

U. S.—Not a bit.

B. J.—Well, which is which? Are  
these Republicans and Democrats our  
real friends or are they our enemies  
after all?

U. S.—Don't you remember that  
Scotch terrier that snapped and  
growled at you yesterday when you  
called at John Jones?

B. J.—Blast the brute

# CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communications, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

## S. L. P. MESSAGE WELL RECEIVED

To the Daily and Weekly People:—We are holding street meetings twice a week in the different towns throughout the valley here and have had fairly good sales of literature at each meeting. Last night in Rochester we sold sixteen pamphlets. The workers are eager to hear the Socialist Labor Party teachings as to political and industrial unity, and having always been doped with the vote, vote cry of the Socialist party, they now realize that votes without the physical force to back them up are useless, except to stage strutters and freaks.

Some of the Socialist party men are constantly purchasing literature at the meetings and it will do them a world of good as they are honest but misled by those that want to keep them from hearing the other fellow's arguments.

We don't hear a word against the S. L. P. principles and tactics, and it looks as though the workingmen realize that we have the correct solution.

Comrades Markley and Mike Greek are doing valiant work for the movement, and there is some good bound to come from their effort.

The industrial situation is a little better than it was a month or so ago but there are still ten men for every job.

Robt. Richardson.

Rochester, Pa., September 14.

## HOW PIERSON SECURES SUBS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Our national canvasser for our press and literature, Charles Pierson, is now here in Louisville, and putting in good telling licks for the Party and its educational institutions. I worked with Pierson Friday at the noon hour in the National Machine Foundry, and Monday at the noon hour at Turner, Day and Woolworth Handle factory; and we managed to secure a few subscriptions.

Pittsfield has a live flourishing Section of the S. L. P., and in the future they will try to make it the banner Section of the State.

I believe, and my belief is well grounded; as Reimer's experience through the State proves, that there is altogether too much time given by the speakers of the so-called Socialist party in denouncing the different local police, than in properly attending to the subject of Socialism, and thus they bring unnecessary opposition and arouse needless antagonism to themselves.

F. Houtenbrink.  
Pittsfield, Mass., September 13.

## S. L. P. AGITATION IN ST. PAUL.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Thanks to the continued efforts of John Olson and C. F. Warm, speakers from Minneapolis, and Herbert Johnson, State Secretary of the Minnesota S. L. P., agitational work of a fruitful nature has been steadily going on among the Scandinavians of the Payne avenue section of St. Paul. One or two nights a week the facts of Socialism, as taught by the S. L. P., have been presented in an able manner to gatherings of an encouraging size. Also, the great Swedish struggle has been dwelt upon as a national example of the great international struggle that goes on day after day between the contrary interests of the proletariat and bourgeoisie. And he is said to the great credit of the Scandinavians who have gathered, they have shown great appreciation and quick understanding of real Socialism, and a deep sympathy with their brothers fighting across the sea.

The object, from the first, has been the organization of a club in the Scandinavian Federation of the S. L. P., and that has been attained. H. Johnson at present holds fifteen applications for membership and has reason to expect more. The club is to be formally launched at an organizing meeting to be held Saturday, September 18. All this time the "Arbetare," an official S. L. P. paper, has been "selling like hot-cakes."

As an evidence of substantial sympathy, shown for the fighters across the sea, almost one hundred dollars have been secured in one district in one month to help win this most important of economic battles.

Gerald J. Sherwood.  
St. Paul, Minn., September 13.

"THE PEOPLE" FOR HIM.  
To the Daily and Weekly People:—Being a subscriber to the Weekly People, and always awaiting it with pleasure, I was immensely amused by the heading "Not for Him—Happy with His Gun and Rosary," in the correspondence column of August 28th. The article was signed, Francis Xavier Staus. I would have

signed it if I had been in his place, Superstition less Brains. I will translate it right so that the Reverend will make no mistake hereafter.

I am always happy with my "People" and its straight revolutionary tactics. I have read the Weekly and the Daily People for a long time, and have subscribed for it, and wish to have it continued. I suspect no man of sending it to me. I can afford to take it as I don't have to pay for either Bibles or bulletins, and I have no money to waste on machine made guns of the capitalist class to butcher women and children. And, therefore, I am contented and happy, for if I cannot do very much for mankind at large, I do not lay destruction in their way.

I am always reading Socialism and studying the wants of my class, the Toilers, and would not give one thing I have read for all of the priests or Catholics of the capitalist system. I have gained all by understanding the different rudiments of unionism, and explaining it and its differences to my fellow workers. I will always uphold industrial unionism and I thank Karl Marx, Engels and others, including the Weekly and the Daily People, for the light and happiness I found in becoming clear on the class struggle.

I hope the common people will search deeper for revolutionary truths. I am strictly against anything that is not for all the people.

James M. Carnahan.  
Bellingham, Wash., September 7.

## S. P. FUSION AFTERMATH IN ST. LOUIS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The enclosed clipping from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of July 20, 1909, is interesting. It throws a light on the rumpus which Local St. Louis, Socialist party, finds itself in following its fusion in the municipal elections of April 6 last.

It will be remembered that the S. P. press, after this spring's elections here claimed that the S. P. vote rose. But it will be seen from the clipping that the S. P. members are cast down because their vote dropped off 2,000. It will also be recollected that when the Socialist Labor Party exposed the S. P. fusion in this city with the Republicans, the S. P. press, notably the New Yorker Volkszeitung, claimed that the fusion candidate, Emil Simon, protested against his nomination by the Republicans. Now, it is seen that Mr. Hildenbrand, a prominent St. Louis S. P. man advances a different excuse. He says that the time was too short to pass upon Simon's nomination. Thus one S. P. man here contradicts an S. P. editor in New York, and both of them are dodging.

J. S.  
St. Louis, Mo., September 15.

(Enclousure)

## LEADERS WOULD OUST SOCIALISTS WHO JOINED JEP.

"Impossibilists" Criticise "Opportunists" for Allowing Simon to Join Republicans.

The "Impossibilists" and the "Opportunists" are at war over "Jep" Howe, the Sunday lid and some minor issues. The "Impossibilists" declare that the "Opportunists" have joined hands with Howe and the Republicans to wreck the Socialist party in St. Louis, while the "Opportunists" attribute the decline of the party's power in the city to the many Socialists who voted the Republican ticket in the belief that the Sunday lid would be blown off.

An "Impossibilist," according to a Socialist leader, is a member of the faction that sees in the distant future—too far away to be realized—the ideal government for which the Socialists are striving, while the "Opportunist" believes in getting whatever he can for Socialism as he goes along.

Charges that William M. Brandt, G. A. Hoehn and L. E. Hildenbrand, leaders of the "Opportunist" wing of the party, violated its declaration of principles by permitting Dr. Emil Simon to go on the Republican ticket as a candidate for the Board of Education, probably will be submitted to a vote of the Socialists in St. Louis.

The "Impossibilists" want Hoehn, Brandt, and Hildenbrand eliminated from the party. The Socialists' vote showed a loss of 2,000 at the last municipal election and the leaders are held responsible by permitting Simon to run on the Republican ticket. They are also assailed for permitting the names of three non-Socialist candidates for the Board of Freeholders to be printed on their ticket.

Mr. Hildenbrand, one of the "Opportunist" leaders, says that no charges are now pending against the Campaign Committee, but that charges were made and were found to be irregular.

"We had no chance to pass upon Dr. Simon's nomination," said Mr. Hildenbrand. "He was put on the Republican ticket at the very last moment without consulting us."

"Many Socialists who wanted to get the lid off voted the Republican ticket. A few weeks before the election, Excise Commissioner Caulfield issued an order

that saloons might open for one hour between Sunday midnight and 1 a. m. Monday.

"Many Socialists thought from this that if the Republicans were successful the lid would be a thing of the past in a year."

A secret meeting was held recently at Druids' Hall to discuss the charges against the Socialist leaders. The oratory was warm and the two factions of the party went after each other hammer and tongs. So far, the "Opportunists" are said to hold a slight advantage over the "Impossibilists."

## CHARLES FALLATH.

Section Elizabeth of the Socialist Labor Party adopted the following resolutions on the loss of death of its organizer, Charles Fallath.

Whereas, Death has called from our midst Comrade Charles Fallath,

Whereas, Comrade Fallath has ever been found a true husband and a loyal comrade, steadfast to the principles of the Socialist Labor Party, and giving his time as an active worker and organizer, be it

Resolved, That we, the members of Section Elizabeth, Socialist Labor Party, do mourn the loss of our comrade, and that we extend to his wife and family our sincere sympathy, and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to his family, and also spread upon the minutes of this body, and published in the Party press.

For the Committee,  
Michael McGarry, Secretary.

## LABOR DAY IN SAN FRANCISCO.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Forty-five thousand strong they marched, San Francisco's labor hosts, for every union man who did not turn out was to be clubbed by a fine. The dear old flag of red and white and blue, whose flapping folds mean so much to the man who toils, was everywhere in evidence. Huge banners that sent their bearers staggering along, tawdry toy flags and tricolor ribbons, these were the unvarying accompaniment throughout the long parade. Why?

The men who marched scarce knew themselves. Some one above had thrust them into their hands, and theirs was not to reason.

Like slaves who pride themselves upon their chains, the marchers wore overalls and aprons and carried symbols of their trade. On their floats they shod horses, they blew glass, they did cabinet making, the hello girls sat with their ear-caps on before a switchboard, the milk men came out with their milk cans, the bakers with immense pretzels and bread, the pile drivers had a pile driver in full operation, and so on to weariness.

The barbarous roll of drums, the shrill shrieks of the fife, the blare of brass could not change it: it was a slaves' parade. The feet dragged wearily along, nothing martial about them. They walked, not defiantly erect, but with bowed backs and hanging heads. Their faces were grey, their eyes were heavy and dull, and their limbs were twisted and gnarled. In the forces of all hardship had dug her talons.

But hold, there were a few who looked full-fed and strong, and whose faces proclaimed no daily struggle for life. They, who seemed the stronger, rode poor sweating nags who were hard put to it to carry so much fat and flesh. These were the labor leaders—the leaders of the slaves.

And right well were they herded—cut up into small companies. They marched as they fight, in crafts. For those who know what this means, enough is said.

In the afternoon, a picnic was held in Shellmound Park. An artificial dust laden place, this park. The usual dreary enjoyments (?) were indulged in—games, dancing, in a crowded and stifling casio, and beer. The last easily carried away the honors of popularity. No censure is meant. Hard workers are hard drinkers.

Towards evening came the literary exercises. First, the fakirs paid their usual adulations to the workers. The notorious P. H. McCarthy, union labor nominee for mayor of San Francisco, made a speech in which he declared himself for a fair profit to the employer and a good wage for the employee. He dwelt upon their identity of interest. He ended by provoking the divine power saying, "God bless the unions and protect them."

Then the speaker of the day, who had been imported from Chicago at the cost of \$500, was introduced.—Clarence S. Darrow. Contrasted with the fakirs who surrounded him, Clarence S. Darrow made a good appearance. The first thing that strikes one about him is his magnificent forehead. His eyes are deep set and far apart. His mouth is the mouth of the speaker, strong, full and resolute. His face is grey, and silver strands are beginning to show in his wisp-like hair. He was dressed in black and wore a Lin-

coln tie. He began to speak in his slow, clear drawl, and his language was simple and plain.

He plunged immediately into his subject. He said that he had seen the thousands of toilers parade, he had witnessed their enthusiasm; but to him all this meant little. He was too old in the movement to be led astray by it. He knew that on the morrow they again bear their burdens stolidly, and their politicians would herd them from camp to camp as an intelligent colic herds sheep.

Then he plunged into an analysis of unionism which, while not very deep, showed quite an insight. He said that many looked at unionism as an end, whereas it was but a means. An army in camp was sure to disintegrate, and unions which fought not were either dead or dying. Then he took up a few of the fallacies of the A. F. of L.

He spoke of the restriction of apprentices. He characterized as criminal the exclusion policy—the fight against the Jap and the foreigner. He spoke of their membership restrictions and their imbecile fight against the machine.

The hearts of the fakirs on the platform were sick, and silly smiles played on their lips. Like the resistless billows that sweep up the shore and destroy the sand castles of the children, the severely simple language of the speaker swept away these A. F. of L. fallacies.

Darrow then gave a short exposition of value, how labor creates all wealth and how it is robbed in the shop. He showed how every gain by the workers was a loss to the capitalist and vice versa. He spoke of those who prated of identity of interests as fools or knaves. He declared that every man worth buying in labor's ranks was bought.

The fakirs were very quiet now and they no longer smiled.

Then the tide turned. Darrow declared that organized labor was always right, even when it was wrong. He said that shop restrictions, Japanese exclusion, fighting the machine were war measures which self-preservation dictated to them in this hellish system. He said that he was not one of those who held to one dogma. Many roads lead to Rome. It might be that Single Tax would solve the problem. It might be that Socialism would solve the question and Socialism was certainly a great world movement. But Socialists were very harsh and intolerant and their dream was afar off.

It might be that here in America we needed a great labor party like the one which was so successful in Great Britain. Then he exhorted his listeners not to turn their backs on the Union Labor Party because some of their men had proved grafters and betrayed their trust. He thought that most men would graft in office and that he, for one, would rather see a workingman get the graft than a lawyer. In conclusion, he urged them to stay with their party.

The tide had receded, exposing the shallows. The rush of indiscriminate applause which the audience tendered the speaker was joined by the fakirs, for, while Darrow had given them an evil half hour, lashing them unmercifully, he had atoned in the end by his endorsement of the Union Labor Party.

Alex Ralph.

San Francisco, Cal., September 9.

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## MARX on MALLOCK

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By DANIEL DE LEON.

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28 City Hall Place, N. Y.

## LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

D. B. PASADENA, CALIF.—The working class is robbed ONCE. It is robbed in production, which includes distribution and exchange, or useful service. The theory may be tested by the circumstance that, if the Working Class got all that it produced, there would be no question whether it was not also robbed as a purchaser. On the other hand, even if the Working Class could get for nothing all it needs to live to-day, still it would be robbed in the shop.—Next question next week.

O. B. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—When Jefferson was elected President the Constitution provided that the next highest candidate for President was Vice-President.

D. T. J. ORLANDO, FLA.—That particular "St. Anne bunco scheme" does deserve treatment, and will be treated just so soon as the facts necessary for treatment have been gathered. Delightful as the work is in this office, it is vastly larger than the ill-used personnel can promptly attend to. Then, also, The People never administers a crack until the club is well shaped, and sure not to splinter. Any further documentary facts are welcome.

H. B. S. HAMILTON, CANADA—Information was welcome; and was gladly used, as you may have seen. Keep it up.

H. D. J. TERRE HAUTE, IND.—Gompers was defeated only once for President of the A. F. of L. That was in 1893, right after Powderly was thrown over, and the formation of a solid economic organization was apprehended as the consequence. Those who engineered the move thought that what the progressive element objected to was Gompers. When they found out that what the progressive element objected to was, not Gompers, but Gompersism, and that a healthier economic organization threatened to appear, Gompers was immediately re-elected the very next year, 1894.

R. K. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—James Carey was first elected to the Board of Aldermen, or whatever that Board's name was, on the ticket of the Socialist Labor Party. He, contemplating reasonable conduct towards the working class, as he soon became guilty of by voting \$15,000 for an Armory, and realizing he would be expelled by the Party, resigned from the Party immediately after election. Having, under the Party constitution, placed his resignation in the Party's hand upon being nominated, the N. E. C. of the Party promptly called upon him to resign the office to which he was elected upon the Party's ticket. He refused, under a variety of typically fishy pretexts, changed each time to meet the occasion. One of them was that the Party in Haverhill did not have members enough to elect him.

"DEBATE," NEW YORK—Instructions will be followed. Whether a debate of that nature will prove what is expected is doubtful. The analogy with court pleadings—complaints, answers, replies, rejoinders, surrejoinders must come to an end; charges to the jury are not allowed to be infinite; then comes the verdict. Even of appeals there is an end—and that relegates the case to the pigeon-hole of "res adjudicata." Debates on Individualism and Collectivism are in their essence interminable. People who will stand for "individualism" partisanly, and people who

## OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
Paul Augustine, National Secretary,  
28 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.

CANADIAN S. L. P., Philip Courtenay,  
National Secretary, 144 Duchess Avenue,  
London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO., the  
Party's Literary Agency, 28 City Hall  
Place, N. Y. City.

NOTICE—For technical reasons no  
Party announcements can go in that  
are not in this office by Tuesday,  
10 p.m.

## NEW JERSEY S. E. C.

Meeting held September 19. Present:  
Magnet, Landgraf, McGarry, Schenck,  
and Hossack. McGarry chairman.

Correspondence:—From National Secretary, voting blanks on amendments to the Party constitution; Branch Plainfield, \$1 for state organizer fund; from Branch Elizabeth, 55 cents, balance on bill of May 8th; Section Essex County, \$3.00 for dues stamps; M. D. Fitzgerald, Atlantic City, transferring from 9th and 11th A. Ds, New York, and George A. Koenig, Lebanon, application for membership and paying six months' dues.

Fitzgerald and Koenig admitted as members-at-large.

Sections Hudson, Essex, Passaic, and Union, report county tickets nominated.

Secretary reported sending to W. E. Ross, Town Clerk, Kearney, and to Oscar L. Young, copies of resolutions, adopted at previous meeting, in re the matter of Young.

The attention of the S. E. C. having been called to the fact that the Party propaganda in the State is not productive of readers for the Party press the secretary was instructed to urge upon the Sections that some effort be made to secure readers for the Weekly People.

Adjournment followed.

John Hossack, Secretary.

## NEW YORK S. E. C.

A regular meeting of the New York State Executive Committee, Socialist Labor Party, was held at the Daily People, 28 City Hall Place, New York, on September 17, at 8 p.m., with Joseph Scheurer in the chair. Present, Wilson, Donohue, Johnson, Hiltner and Moenell, and Scheurer. Absent with excuse, Kuhn; without excuse, Hanlon and Walters.

Minutes of the previous meeting adopted as read.

Secretary reported notifying all members to attend meeting; received financial report from Section New York County; received order for dues stamps from Section Monroe County, had letter from Reinstein, Buffalo, regarding his inability to gather signatures, and fearing for prospect of filing ticket; from Organizer Section Schenectady, asking for credit in printing of nominating blanks; attended to by Secretary; sent out call for vote on amendments to Constitution; sent circular letter to Organizers at Utica, Syracuse and Rochester, notifying them of Wilson's dates; also notified Wilson of work; 2,000 leaflets were sent out to each of the places to be visited; R. Katz sent full report of his recent trip through State; Paul Augustine's present trip up-State, at which meetings were well attended; bill of \$6.85 presented by Augustine, ordered paid. The Secretary also reported calling meeting of Section King's County for Saturday, September 18. Secretary's action endorsed.

James J. Hanlon's seat on the committee was declared vacant because of absence and secretary instructed to notify the next man on the reserve list.

Decided that if Wilson have enough time left, the Secretary arrange with him about extending trip to Buffalo to help gather signatures and to further propaganda in that neighborhood.

Meeting adjourned.

Edmund Moenell, Secretary.

## OPERATING FUND.

The propaganda contests helped us through the summer without much being said about this fund. Now, however, it is a question of this fund, or of a general propaganda that will result in subscriptions. Let us have the revenue in the shape of subscriptions, but revenue you must furnish, somehow. If you have not been doing your duty by the Movement you can, in a measure, make amends, by penalizing yourself and sending the amount of the penalty to this fund; then get in and help push the propaganda. Contributions the past week were;

W. McFarlane, Los Angeles, Cal.	2.15
L. D. Bechtel, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.00
L. Mueller, Potholes, Cal.	.50
E. Moenell, New York	1.00
F. B. Guarneri, New York	2.50
J. K. Spalvin, So. Boston, Mass.	1.50
C. McCabe, Plymouth, Mass.	1.50
P. Rissman, Elma, Wash.	1.00
J. M. Carnahan, Bellingham, Wash.	.75
W. K. Stoker, England	.39
Total	12.29
Previously acknowledged	5,030.07
Grand total	\$5,042.36

## OPERATING FUND OF "VOLKS-FREUND &amp; ARBEITER ZEITUNG."

The following amounts for the Operating Fund of the "Volksfreund and Arbeiter Zeitung" have been received since last report in The People. Only such acknowledgements will be sent to The People as come from Sections and individuals who will look in The People for the accounts:

Previously acknowledged	43.50
Section Detroit, Mich.	2.00
Section Portland, Ore.	3.00
Section Boston, Mass., collected at meeting	1.75
Section Cincinnati, Ohio	5.00
Section Elizabeth, N. J.	2.20
Section Cleveland, O., proceeds from picnic	23.60
John Lindgren, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Section Richmond, Va.	2.00
Total	\$84.05

Comrades:—The condition of our German Party organ has somewhat improved, but we are not over the difficulties yet and those Sections, comrades and friends who have not yet responded to our appeal are urgently requested to do so at once.

Manager, "Volksfreund and Arbeiter Zeitung."

## SECTION ALLEGHENY COUNTY, PA.

An important meeting of Section Allegheny County, Socialist Labor Party, will be held SUNDAY, September 26, 3 p.m. Comrades, if the work of the S. L. P. is to be pushed to the full extent which conditions warrant it is necessary that all members be on hand to assist in devising ways and means for same.

C. A. Rupp, Organizer.

## ORDER IT TO-DAY.

Get the Daily People and keep in daily touch with the events of the campaign. One dollar pays for a three months' subscription. Order it to-day.

The Daily People,  
P. O. Box 1576, New York.

## SWEDISH STRIKERS' FUND.

Of the below contributions that of Peter Faber was sent in for the McKees Rocks Strikers' Fund, but inasmuch as the strike is over, it has been turned over to "Arbetaren," Swedish S. L. P. paper, to be sent to the striking workers of Sweden.

Peter Faber, Kent, Ohio	\$2.00
S. Schwartzman, New York	1.00
Lettish Socialist Labor Federation	4.80
Collected by M. Brayer as follows: Wolf, 50c.; Loithard, 50c.; Brand, 50c.; Brayer, 50c.; Schlesseberg, 25c.; Friedland, 25c.; M. Katz, 15c.; Goldzaler, 15c.; Hegel, 25c.; Hakel, 15c.; Brunbaum, 25c.; H. Kegel, 25c.; I. Katz, 15c.; Letzen Bros., 50c.; Mrs. Hammar, 25c.; H. Gams, 15c.; L. Gold, 50c.	5.25

Any further contributions to the above fund should be sent direct to "Arbetaren," 28 City Hall place. L. C. Fraina.

## SOCIAL, VISITING, AND BUSINESS CARDS

Equal to engraved, 60c. per 100, including card case; 500 cards \$1.25; 1,000 \$1.85, postpaid. PEARL BARRON,  
136 Washington Ave., Scranton, Pa.

When patronizing those who never in the Daily People fail not to tell them that you saw their advertisement in the Daily People.

## AS TO METHODS

## PRESENT MODE OF PROPAGANDA IS NOT RESULTING IN SUBSCRIPTIONS.

During the past week we received eight yearly subscriptions to the Weekly People from Phoenix, Ariz. The previous week we received from the same town four yearlies and two half yearlies, fourteen in two weeks. Propaganda work of the right kind is being carried on in Phoenix.

From Muncie, Ind., we received \$2.25, for six subscriptions; from Cle Elam, Wash., \$3.50, for five subscriptions; and from Altoona, Pa., \$1.50 for three subscriptions.

Now let us look at the big industrial centers, where we have organization, what did they do? New York, one subscription; Brooklyn, N. Y., none; Detroit, Mich., none; Indianapolis, Ind., none; Jersey City, none; Paterson, N. J., none; Cincinnati, O., none; Milwaukee, Wis., none, and thus it goes.

It means either that the propaganda is not being carried on, or is not being conducted along right lines, else the subscription record would surely be different.

Subscriptions are to be had; that is being proved daily. The sub-getting contests proved it. Getting readers for the Party press is the mode of propaganda pre-eminent and systematic effort along this line should be the first concern of each and every Section. We are organized to spread the light, let us get to work and do it.

Those sending two or more readers were:

J. A. Leach, Phoenix, Ariz.	8
A. Ralph, San Francisco, Cal.	2
Section Denver, Colo.	2
F. Knotek, Hartford, Conn.	7
C. E. Warner, New Haven, Conn.	3
G. Langner, Milford, Conn.	2
E. T. Holmes, Chicago, Ill.	2
N. Heilmer, Chicago, Ill.	2
P. Brock, Muncie, Ind.	6
C. Pierson, Louisville, Ky.	16
L. Platt, Attleboro, Mass.	3
W. E. McCue, St. Paul, Minn.	2
H. Johnson, St. Paul, Minn.	3
J. Scheidler, St. Louis Mo.	3
F. Brown, Cleveland, O.	12
J. Schmidle, Cleveland, O.	2
W. O. Nelson, Altoona, Pa.	3
W. H. Carroll, Pittsburgh, Pa.	4
E. F. Putnam, Cle Elam, Wash.	5
A. Gillhaus, Seattle, Wash.	4

## LABOR NEWS NOTES.

The new catalogue is ready. Send for one.

The "Casque's Lark," the next Sue story to appear in book form, is in the hands of the binder.

De Leon's address on "Woman's Suffrage" is going through the press.

## ANSWERS AN EDITOR.

(Continued from page 2.)

peting with him, the workingman's wages must necessarily go down. So, that under the present capitalist social system the family life is destroyed; the mother is forced to leave home and enter the factory, there to compete with the father and very often her own children.

What kind of family life can flourish under such conditions? And the men who "fear" that Socialism would abolish the family, apologize for the system that is actually destroying the family to-day.

It is not true that the majority of us can or have the opportunity to apply ourselves to that calling for which we are best fitted. The thought which holds the central arena of action is: At what trade can most money be made? And to that which he hopes will net golden gains to that he takes to. Hence we see many persons adopting themselves to that which will assure them more money—regardless of talent.

The only condition for admission is the worker's willingness to acquire the information which enables him to follow the dictation and requirements of the collective interest of the working class.

Further still we find many workers who are only too glad to enable them to gain the necessities of life, irrespective as to what vocation they are really fitted for.

Circumstances to-day wholly determine for the average man what he should or should not do. Life is not what we make it, it is made for us by circumstantial forces more potent than our volition and abilities. This force I do not attribute to a wilful Divine. It can be traced to those "captains of industry" who know what they do and therefore we cannot forgive them.

Capitalism and Socialism are diametrically opposed for the simple reason that the interests of the appropriating class are inimical to the interests of the producing class, hence the class struggle.

Society is in travail and the birth pangs of the day of reckoning and the rumblings of a new order of things, nearer ever nearer to the kingdom come.

on earth—is heard and felt and will soon be understood.

Those who wish an unbiased view of capitalism and Socialism, a more effective and well connected argument on the fallacies of the former and logic of the latter, should not content themselves with the mere rattler of a newspaper to dominate their prejudices, but investigate for themselves.

## A WORD.

(Continued from page two.)

Capacity does not prevent them from exploiting the helpless victims of capitalism, uninformed workingmen.

Its principles are fixed by the exigency of raising the organizer's fee. Its motto is "Hallelujah, I am a bum," its political form, competition to organized capitalist charity.

It carries the germ of its own destruction in its make-up. Leave it to its fate, to demonstrate that mere honesty and good intentions are insufficient to free the working class from wage slavery.

Every industrial unionist and every organization of the Industrial Workers of the World, who recognized the need of the hour that this conspiracy imposed upon them, had no choice but set to work to develop the organs that the conspiracy robbed the body of.

On November 5, 1908, a conference assembled in Paterson, N. J., of delegates sent by the locals that remained true to the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World, electing a General Executive Board and other officials, and attended to such other work as the organization required for its growth and progress.

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